

Message Text

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PAGE 01 DAR ES 02598 01 OF 02 162025Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----107726 162044Z /64

O 161730Z JUN 78

FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8954
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2598

EXDIS

LONDON FOR SECDEL AND DICK MOOSE

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SA, TZ
SUBJECT: NYERERE'S REACTION TO PROPOSED LUANDA MEETING

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2597

1. REFTEL REPRESENTS AGREED REPORT OF WESTERN FIVE AMBASSA-
DORS ON NYERERE'S RESPONSE TO PRESENTATION MADE 4:00 PM
LOCAL, JUNE 16. HIS REACTION WAS NOT EASY TO REPORT; HENCE
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OUR DECISION THAT CONSENSUS HAD BEST BE GOTTEN HERE TO AVOID
CONFUSING FOREIGN MINISTERS AND NEW YORK CONTACT GROUP.
FOLLOWING SUPPLEMENT REPRESENTS MY PERSONAL VIEWS--NOT,
AS FAR AS I KNOW, IN ANY WAY IN CONFLICT WITH THOSE OF OTHER
AMBASSADORS.

2. CLEAR THRUST OF NYERERE'S RESPONSE WAS THAT IF WE GO

AHEAD WITH LUANDA MEETING WITHOUT BRINGING TO IT MAJOR CONCESSION FROM SOUTH AFRICANS WE ARE LIKELY TO BE IN TROUBLE. FRONT LINE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUPPORT US, AND NUJOMA WILL END UP QUARRELING WITH US AND OPENING UP WHOLE AGREEMENT. BEFORE FRONT LINE CAN SUPPORT, AT VERY LEAST IT WILL HAVE TO HAVE SPECIFIC SPELLING OUT OF WHAT MINISTERS MEANT IN OUR PRESENTATION WHEN WE SAID "NEVERTHELESS, OUR FIVE MINISTERS BELIEVE. . ."

3. NYERERE SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT HE HAD NOT JUST BEEN URGING ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS WITH SWAPO. HIS PROPOSAL HAS BEEN BASED ON A SPECIFIC POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM SOUTH AFRICA. "IF I SAY 'LET'S MEET' TO MY COLLEAGUES, BUT SOUTH AFRICA IS STILL HOLDING TO ITS ORIGINAL POSITION. MY COLLEAGUES ARE GOING TO SAY WHAT IS THE POINT OF MEETING?" IN RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC QUESTION FROM UK HIGH COMMISSIONER AS TO WHETHER NYERERE WAS SAYING SAM WOULD NOT MEET WITHOUT FURTHER CONCESSION, NYERERE SAID: "HE'LL MEET, BUT HE WILL JUST QUARREL WITH YOU." NYERERE ALSO EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT TROOP LOCATIONS POSITION WAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED BY ANGOLA. THIS ASPECT OF SITUATION HAD NOW BECOME VERY IMPORTANT POLITICALLY, WHATEVER NYERERE HIMSELF MIGHT THINK ABOUT RELEVANCY OF TROOP LOCATIONS.

4. IN RESPONSE TO MY SUGGESTION THAT NEXT PHASE OF GAME WAS ONLY BEGINNING AND THAT THE PROCESS OF EXTRACTING ADDITIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCESSIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA WAS NEVER A RAPID OR EASY ONE, NYERERE SAID HE AGREED. WHEN UK HIGH COMMISSIONER AND I INDIRECTLY BUT CLEARLY RAISED POSSIBILITY OF CONTACT GROUP GOING ON TO SOUTH AFRICA AFTER LUANDA, NYERERE RECOGNIZED POINT BUT DID NOT RESPOND POSITIVELY.

5. I FURTHER POINTED OUT DIFFICULTIES RESULTING FROM REOPENING TROOP LOCATIONS QUESTIONS IN PROPOSAL, I.E. A) SOUTH AFRICA NEVER CAME BACK WITH SIMPLE "YES" TO ANY PROPOSITION AND B), IT WOULD INEVITABLY WANT THEN TO TURN TO RECONSIDER OTHER MATTERS ON WHICH AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED. PUNITIVE FACTOR, ON WHICH I SPECULATED IN EARLIER TELEGRAM, THEN APPEARED CLEARLY. NYERERE SAID: "IT WAS SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ATTACKED CASSINGA IN THE MIDDLE OF OUR TALKS. THE ANGOLANS AND ZAMBIANS CANNOT IGNORE THIS. IT IS UP TO SOUTH AFRICA TO MAKE UP FOR IT." HE ADDED THAT THE EXERCISE WE ARE NOW TALKING ABOUT IS AIMED AT HELPING SOUTH AFRICA TO DO THIS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2598

EXDIS

LONDON FOR SECDEL AND DICK MOOSE
CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

6. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM UK HIGH COMMISSIONER
REFERRING TO PENULTIMATE SENTENCE IN OUR PRESENTATION, AS
TO WHETHER HIS POSITION MEANT THAT HE INDEED HAD SOME PROBLEMS
WITH LUANDA MEETING, NYERERE'S ANSWER WAS "YES."

7. IN MY VIEW NYERERE HAS GIVEN NOT RED, AND CLEARLY NOT
GREEN, BUT STRONG ORANGE WARNING LIGHT ON LUANDA MEETING.
IF WE GO AHEAD AND SWAPO EMERGES INTRANSIGENT (WHICH NYERERE
PREDICTS), HE WILL SAY "I WARNED YOU." I CAN ONLY CONCLUDE
BEST OPTION IS TO ACCEPT NYERERE POSITION ON TWO ISSUES AS
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ACCURATE, GET WHAT WE CAN FROM SOUTH AFRICA, REPEAT. GET
WHAT WE CAN FROM SOUTH AFRICA, AND THEN TRY IT OUT ON FRONT
LINE OR DIRECTLY WITH SWAPO.

8. I HAVE NOTHING TO ADD ON NYERERE'S MYSTERIOUS STATEMENT ABOUT BEING ALMOST READY TO GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. HE SAID IT IN A WARNING TONE OF VOICE WHICH SUGGESTED THAT, IF WE DIDN'T PRODUCE, AFRICA WOULD GIVE UP ON THE WEST AND GO TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH SOME KIND OF STRAIGHT PRO-SWAPO, ANTI-SOUTH AFRICAN RESOLUTION. HOWEVER, HIS PAST HISTORY AND USE OF THE WORDS ON THIS SUBJECT SUGGEST THAT THE PHRASE COULD EQUALLY BE INTERPRETED AS MEANING: "WE ARE SO NEAR TO FINISHING THINGS UP IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, LET'S NOT LOSE IT." SPAIN

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